/364 cont./

273 life of the individual or the community is associated with this beverage. The divine principle which kāwi has in it does not take away its secular character; and, while one gets drunk on it during the festivals, nothing prevents washing down meals with it at the time when the corn ripens. As a sign of [594] hospitality every stranger is invited to empty a calabash full [596] of it; and the compliments he addresses to the wife of his host fill his heart with pride.

527 The Indians always appreciated the liking I showed
293 /Plate XIV appears here/ /365/ for kāwi, and my old friend
[123] Karnapadyú did not fail to recall the big vats full to the brim to persuade one to return to celebrate Easter with them, or, if you like, the corn harvest, since these two dates coincide more or less. Such promises /Fig. 29 appears here/ could not remain without effect, and Karnapadyú was not at all surprised to see me arrive shortly before the festival.

The greatest animation prevailed in the village of Cururutí, formerly so calm. Men came and went, bending under enormous loads of wood. All the urns were lined up in front of the huts and buried to a third of their height (Plate XIV, 1).
529 For a long time big piles of corn had already been heaped up
273 in the village, which all, big and small, men and women,
243 /Fig. 30 appears here/ were actively engaged in husking.
[412] Some used their fingers, others knives or a pointed stick. Not
[413] one had thought of the so practical instrument used by their ancestors: a small wooden peg with a leather loop to put two fingers through. It is curious to note that such a simple object fell into disuse; an old man still sold me a specimen made of iron but a close copy, so to speak, of the wooden prototype, of which it reproduced the smallest details (Fig. 29).

273 Now the hardest work begins: the grinding of the kernels. Day and night the dry noise of the pestles crushing the corn
[461] resounds in the village. Often, to get the chore over more quickly, three women group around the same mortar and with surprising speed raise and pound their pestle without a single
[415] error in rhythm interrupting their laborious work. Once ground, the corn is sifted in an urumpesa or large-meshed sieve (Fig. 31). The rather coarse flour is poured into large urns filled with water.

1: Métraux--115 E-5 (1929) 1930 SF10 Chiriguano SF10

Plate XIV

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1. Vessels assembled in front of a hut and serving for the preparation of kĐwi (chicha). Caruruti. (Photo. A. M.)

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2. Women and children taking kawi. The women are squatting on the ground on skins, while the men are seated on benches or chairs. Samirenda. (Photo. A. M.)

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/369 cont./

De Molles, y de murta bien obrado,
Seguro que bebian casi arroba,
Que media á cada cual le estaba dado."
/The wine of maize and of algarroba,
Of Molles, and of myrtle well worked,
It is certain that they drank almost
an arroba,
The measure which was given to each
one./

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[123]
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Kāwi is too respected a drink to be drunk in any old way. Etiquette requires one to comply with certain rules if the honor of participating in a drinking bout is done you. I sometimes had a chance to be invited to these festivities, and on such an occasion I was able to make the following observations which I am setting down just as I noted them in my field notebook: The men are seated in a circle on chairs or benches. The women squat behind them, on skins spread out on the ground.

[554]

The kāwi is brought in vessels shaped like bulls, and one of them is put down at the feet of the "captain." The girl who has brought it fills a small calabash and offers it to the "captain," who empties it. Next he serves me and gives the vessel back to her. He does the same with my neighbor, then with several of the guests. Then he hands the calabash to his wife and goes to sit down. The latter serves the rest of the men present.

A second vessel, brimming over with kāwi, is put this time before another Indian who perhaps is held in some esteem. He drinks first, then busies himself with his companions. Two large calabashes are then given over to the women, and from that moment on, the distribution no longer seems to follow any order. Men and women drink and serve their neighbors without obeying any rule of decorum other than not to forget other people. They acquit themselves perfectly in this duty of politeness, and nobody is neglected, not even the very small children, who take alarming quantities of kāwi.

/369 cont./

293 574 576 [554] At Sainirenda on Easter Day I was able to note that the first one served is always the "captain." As before, the vessel full of kĩwi is put down at his feet. He drinks the first bumper, then hands his cup or calabash to his neighbor. The latter gives back the calabash empty or fills it and passes it on in his turn. Several calabashes are circulated, but they always come back to the first person who received each one and he finishes it. The men move from their places several times to go to serve the women who, on their part, do not forget themselves and drink according to the same /370/ [533] ritual as the men. The drinking takes place to the sound of flutes and violins.

When the supply of kĩwi is exhausted in a village, they get in single file and, the music at the head, go elsewhere to revel.

[179] [198] [302] Formerly the preparation of kĩwi was accompanied by magic rites. Today nothing is left of this but the custom of daubing the face and legs with roucou. In certain villages the women do not even take this precaution any more. However, between Cururutí and Caipipendí, I could still see several women stained like this, who seemed "handsome devils," to use an expression dear to Jean de Léry.

415 ## Notes on the Cooking Utensils Used among the Chiriguano

Nothing strikes the traveler who arrives in a Chiriguano village so much as the abundance of pieces of pottery he finds inside or outside the huts. Figure 1 of Plate XIV /see p. 115/ gives an idea /Fig. 35 appears here/ of the number of vessels one can see in a small area at the time when the Indians are preparing corn beer.

Pottery for culinary use among the Chiriguano has a completely different nature from that for ceremonial days. The [197] [198] latter is clearly of Andean origin with a few rare Arawak elements, while the former has retained a very marked Guarani character.

4: Nimo--173 M-3 (1890-1911) 1917 SF10 Chiriguano SF10

/135 cont./

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Thus, being an orphan is unknown among these Indians, and the worst insult that can be given to a Chiriguano is to call him Tiseí, orphan, or paravete, poor. The family which takes charge of an orphan who was left without a father or mother or close relatives, treats him better than its own children. To the latter it shows strictness and obliges them to do certain chores of minor importance, but to the orphan never. He works because he wants to, and he sees that gratitude to his new parents demands it of him. He remains in the house in which he is a guest until the age of puberty, and then, with no thanks whatever, he disappears and goes to live in other towns, where he may settle down temporarily or forever, depending upon how well he may be received there (1).

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1. Chiriguano boys never thank anyone for anything, but when they take leave they say Ayema, I am leaving. Old people and adults utter an occasional word of thanks.

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With transients or travelers, whether they be Indians or whites, they use proper manners. If there is chicha in the house, it is the first thing that they offer him when he has taken a seat, and then they prepare for him whatever food is available. There are travelers who remain in a Chiriguano house for weeks and months, and never does the Indian get tired of him. He serves him just as he served him on the first day, and when he leaves he even makes him promise to come back to visit. Oh, how the barbarians who are called savages shame the conduct of so many men who call themselves civilized, and, greater dishonor, Catholic Christians! They treat inhumanely their fellowmen, comparing them with quadrupeds. They cheat the helpless, are bad examples for the unfortunate, making them pay dearly in times of want for even a handful of maize, while the Indian, when he has it, will give it away, or charge very little for it, and makes no request for payment should the white come to his house to ask for water or for chicha, which is never lacking in times of abundance (2).

2. I have seen maize sold on the scales at

/180 cont./

352 The peculiarity of the Chiriguano cots is that they are almost always shorter than the persons who must sleep on it: most of
[513] them measure one meter 60 centimeters. They perhaps have this peculiarity because they sleep curled up like pigs in order to hold together better the little clothing or blankets that they
[178] possess. Today they are beginning to make them longer and
[237] to have cots like the whites use: the open part of the latter is closed with cowhides which they attach first lengthwise and then at the sides, equidistantly about every seven or eight centimeters, with many small squares being the result (1).

1. The cots which are made with split agave sticks are soft and preferred: in the Ivu Mission almost all make them of this material.

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• 571
516 The Chiriguano man does not like to sit on the ground either: when he is visiting, it would be an insult to make a man sit on the ground: nevertheless for a gathering of friends they do sit
352 down where they wish and stretch out like dogs in the sun. For
325 the reception of visitors they have crude seats. They are of
[574] wood and called Apica. There are some with two places and up to four with their respective dividers: there are some for
[412] men and even for children. They are of a single piece, and they are made by dint of much patience by hollowing them out with an ax. The tree should be a thick one so that the seat may have a little height and the occupant may not cut a ridiculous figure of a punchinello or clown, causing laughter
[438] among the onlookers. They also use benches and chairs like
[439] those of the whites: they make the latter for their own use
[124] and to sell to their fellows and to the whites. The wood which they seek out for these labors is zacharosa, because it is soft and easily worked with the tools that are available to the poor Chiriguano, who does not always have an adze and a chisel.
352 Some people also have /181/ hammocks. Quiha ó ioni, but they are so old and black because of the action of the smoke that they arouse disgust (1).

524 1. For a children's game they hang in the

/181 cont./

524 gallery two cords, tying at the ends a piece of cowhide 80 centimeters long by 30 in width, hanging about 60 centimeters above the ground. This is called Sabiuca, swing, and here the little boys and girls swing and rock.

562 Women sit on the ground in their houses and observe the
574 same custom when they go visiting. The man waits until he
592 is told where he should sit and always receives the best seat.
516 The woman does not wait; she knows her place; she arrives, does not greet anyone, leaves her bundle in a corner, if she has one, and then squats down in such a way that from near or far many women squatting like this look like so many carronades /camaretas/ ready to go off.

Matés

462 In the furnishings of Chiriguano houses a preferred place
241 is occupied by the matés, made of gourds divided vertically
415 through the middle. This is man's work; he plants them and
322 cultivates them in his field, and when they are mature they are brought to the house where they are allowed to dry in the shade and also in the sun. Some three months are needed for this or even more, depending on the season. Nevertheless, they are watched throughout to see whether a fingernail will penetrate the skin. When the fingernail will not penetrate, the gourds are ripe. Then they remove the first skin, split them, extract and completely remove the pulp, keep the seeds for the new planting, and, when they are clean, they let them dry for a few days.

462 They are put in a separate place, and a second operation
415 begins. With his Chiriguano patience, with a knife or other
531 instrument, the Indian begins to engrave whatever figures occur to him, such as tree branches, circles with grains of sand, squares, figures of jaguars, doves, lizards, dogs, chickens,

/248 cont./

273 mortar of clay, and thus the fermentation works without interference and in a few days. When the fermentation is over, they carefully remove the clay and the lid, and the Cangüi appears, covered with a good dose of oil, a sure sign that the chicha has been made perfectly (2).

2. When the weather is hot, the fermentation of the chicha works in three days, but in cold weather six or seven are needed.

Before beginning to drink it, the housewife collects and removes the oil /illustration appears here/ /249/ and fills the cups for the drinkers; she pours a few drops of this oil into each one. If this precaution were not taken, all of the oil would pour into a single cup, and the woman who had made the chicha would be deprived of the praises of all the hangers-on. When the Chiriguano woman wants the chicha to be better, when she wants Copiriru, or or recooked chicha, after she has strained it, as has been said, she brings it to a boil again and, when it is cold, bottles it.

[302] Note that Chiriguano women who are getting ready to prepare chicha first anoint their faces and calves with palma Christi oil and over this put achiote paint and then begin the job. They say that with this cosmetic, they feel the heat of the fire less, but, be that as it may, it is certain that to see those women so painted in a house with a big fire and lots of smoke is the same as seeing the furies of hell; the resemblance is not remote.

In another chapter it will be seen that a lot of chicha is made for the fiestas celebrated after the harvest, but it should be noted here that food is prepared for this general drinking and the grand hotel is open to all in the plaza, where townsmen and outsiders, men and women, gather into separate groups, because the European civilization of the mixed schools, mixed dances, mixed parties, mixed baths, etc., etc., which are true sewers of prostitution, has not arrived here (1).

[527] [576]

1. In fact, at the public gatherings the men drink at a decent distance away from the women; their conversations are crude, but do not exceed the limits, because the woman is in the company of her husband.

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When the cacique sees that all has started well, he prepares to go to the neighboring towns to ask their inhabitants to honor him with their presence on the day set, seeing to it that the first invitation is to the cacique or the sorcerer in honor of whom the feast and drinking are being prepared. The one who does the inviting is called Purumuncau vaé, he who gives to drink, and the one invited is called Ucau vaé, or he who partakes. When the one who is doing the inviting has arrived at the house of the one who is to be invited, he explains to him the object of his visit, begging him at the same time to condescend to accept, he and all his people, an acceptance which he and his will consider a great honor (1).

1. In order to further influence the decision of the one invited, the inviter, on his diplomatic visit, refers to the old custom of general libations, which it is essential to keep alive at any cost.

The one invited does not have to be told twice; he accepts at once, noting that he should have been the first to set this good example, but that circumstances and a great deal of work have not permitted him to do so, but it should not be left undone for this reason, and then he will have the honor of accepting with all his people. After this act of Chiriguano diplomacy and etiquette which they have not yet abandoned, the inviter takes his leave, satisfied with his trip, with the good reception, the acceptance, and, above all, for having gained the lead on his friend, who with his people, once the fiestas are over, will say this publicly with the following words: oremana ma-pevi, we have been shamed by you, and enecatu ruyepi ne, but we shall take revenge, meaning: we shall not delay in inviting you to our town so that we may enjoy ourselves there too (2).

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2. If the one invited were not to accept for himself and his people, it would be a very grave affront which undoubtedly would start a war.

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517 They spend the rest of the year in diversions, playing cards and shooting dice, hunting doves and wild animals, going fishing, or fishing where the large rivers are, organizing private drinking parties, today in one barrio, tomorrow in another, today in Mengano's house, tomorrow in Fulano's, the day after tomorrow in Sempronio's, until planting time returns once more.

The Indian concerns himself very little about his house, which sometimes is at the point of falling in on him; his house is better ventilated than a sieve, it rains more inside than out, he sleeps there almost like a toad, he sleeps on the damp ground or above it on a miserable cot, placed over the mud or the water, and his sleep is like that of the dormouse (1).

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1. This way of life in the dampness in their houses or outside of them is the cause of many skin diseases, fevers, and tumors.

Hospitality

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596 The Chiriguano is very hospitable and it would be hard to find any other race which is his equal in this; he receives and serves everyone in his house, both whites and those of familiar condition, for example, the Toba, and, with greater reason, those of his own race. They visit from one town to another, and at the first meeting or at first sight they say immediately, /266/ depending upon the age of the person seen: Ndempuama pa tuti? good day, uncle, if it is in the morning; Ndecaaruma pa? good afternoon; or Ndepintuma pa? good evening. Literally, these three salutations have another meaning. The first means "Have you reached this day, have you arisen healthy and vigorous?" The second, "Have you reached the afternoon?" And the third, "Have you reached the evening?" He who receives the greeting answers, Ampuama, checaaruma, or chepintuma, respectively.

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574 The second t of the word tuti is pronounced double (1).
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1. In other places the salutation is different. They say Catapiri or Aguyeti, good things, prosperity. But the other seems to me to be more in conformity with the universal salutation, as is done everywhere.

If the visitor is a person he knows, the host then says, Nde pa co? Is it thee? And the other answers, Checo, it is I, and then goes on to say Imeño pa nei? Are you living? Imeño aí, I am living. And he enters the house of his uncle, grandfather, brother-in-law, or whoever it may be, since it seems that the Chiriguano has relatives everywhere, and he would have them all over the world, if there were Chiriguano all over the world.

574 Often it is the cacique who receives strangers, if these come
576 looking for him, as naturally happens, but any Indian at whose
622 house he may come will at once say to him with all courtesy, Eyú, come in, if he is on foot, and Egüeyi, come down, if he is mounted. At once he presents him with the best seat that he has and begins the conversation: meanwhile the lady of the house puts at his disposal a large jar of chicha with the respective maté or tumbler, and, aided by her daughters, she prepares the best
123 meal. The captain, or cacique, of Tiasía prepared for me a
[622] maté of boiled corn with salt, arivivi, or very hot chili peppers, and hard-boiled eggs chopped into small pieces.

I noted the great cleanness of the food and the utensils, and then, as I have already said elsewhere, I had a long talk with the Indian, who was quite loquacious and frank, about various religious matters, and in conclusion he made me understand that he would not go to the Boicovo Mission or to the others, because prayer and baptism cause death; that my companions and I had made it not rain that night in order that we might not get wet, and that it is not God who created man, and, when asked who it was, he answered naturally and with astonishment, Ndicuaá á pa? Don't you know? (2) /Illustration appears here./

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2. In the other place I did not set down everything

[Text Continues on P. 362]

/266 cont./

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that the cacique had said with reference to their idea of the missionary, whom they consider to be very powerful with regard to the elements of nature; this Indian's ideas concerning the creation of man are very base and immoral; other, more enlightened ones do not tell it this way.

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/267/ Whether the visit is long or short, at the time of leaving the guest thanks the master of the house, saying, Ayirobia catu ndereé, I thank you very much, and goes off, saying, Aha ye ma, I am going, and the master of the house answers, Tunpa reño eguata, travel or go with God, but first he makes him promise to come back to visit him whenever it is convenient.

Carnival

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If I ask the Indians of Ivu who introduced the carnival among them, some answer that it was the subprefect of Lagunillas who came and built a small fort here and another in Cuevo; others say that it was a white man whom I know and shall not name, and I conclude that it was both of them. The former told them that the carnival was a fiesta of merrymaking, and the latter taught them to do it the way they do it today, as I shall go on to describe. If I ask other Indians, they answer that they learned it from the whites, from which it can be deduced that this general madness is not their own; they do it because they like everything which smacks of killing time, drinking, and dancing. The very word "carnival" indicates that it is not a Chiriguano fiesta; therefore it should not be confused with the Mbapa péuro, which is somewhat similar because of its immorality; this latter is older and is not found in every tribe, in addition to having a set time, after the first cold until about the middle of July (1).

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1. The whites of Cordillera, with their chief, set up the said fortifications after the rebels who had attacked Iglembe had been defeated; they had not come to help the subprefect of Azero.

/157 cont./ One old woman who was supposed to know Chané very well said she would teach me after she had reached the realm of the dead. Since the Indians in this happy place are not bothered by whites, and not by ethnographers either, the promise of the old woman was not very friendly, Ce 124 197 123 ce

The Chané use their old language for many expressions that are abusive, for example, karitimisóyti, which they translate as son of a w---e, An invitation to coitus is called pocóne. There are also songs in their /158/ old language, for example, siparakinãnoyé, siparakinãnoyé, siparakinãnoyé, tonéya, tonéya, tonéya, which they did not know how to translate. 195 197 Ce [533] c

From the Rio Parapiti I again visited the Chiriguano chief Taruiri in the Caipipendi valley, where I sought to buy as many old ornaments and other valuables as possible. Besides Taruiri I also visited another chief, Yumbay, an old worthy who was always embracing me and saying: "I am Yumbay." /Fig. 77 appears here./ "Yes, the great, mighty Yumbay," I chimed in, which made the poor reduced fellow feel very flattered. 114 126 C [123]

From the Caipipendi valley I went by way of Pipi to the mission at Ivu. This lies in an arid, lonely region with little water, near several huge mountains, and the life there must be dreadful. When smallpox was very prevalent in the region, Father Bernardino successfully prevented the disease from spreading into the mission by vaccinating all the Indians living at the place. Father Bernardino is a truly unselfish human being, a genuine missionary. As a result of the vaccination, no one in Ivu died of smallpox, whereas the sinister disease raged frightfully among the whites a few miles from the station. It almost served them right. If anyone died of smallpox, the corpse was laid on a table decorated with paper flowers and a crucifix. Around this the other swine would get drunk and /159/ continue to drink obligos (1) until they were finally lying on the table. C 797 167 [114] [133] [312] C [764] C [273]

1. If a person drinks obligo with another, the latter must drink up. C [576]

/189 cont./

Meat is cooked with maize as a soup or roasted. Before it is placed in the pot, it is washed clean. Fish are roasted over the fire in clamps /Klammern/ or in maize leaves. The small fish which I saw prepared in this way are taken out only when they are eaten. If there are many fish, they are dried for future use.

Especially in times of famine, various /Fig. 92b appears here/ wild plants are also eaten. Salt, which is now bought from the whites, is used for food. In former times it was fetched from the rock-salt pits on the San Luis, on the way from the city of Tarija to the Chaco, or salt was made from saliferous earth, "yukiu." The earth mixed with salt was placed in a bowl of water, sank to the bottom, and the salt water was used.

Fig. 92a. Steaming apparatus. Chané. Río Itiyuro.

Women and men eat separately. At home the men usually eat first and then the women and children. The Indians want to be left alone when they are eating. It is therefore extremely ill-mannered to speak to them during this important activity.

/190/ As far as I saw, they do not eat out of a common dish, but each one eats out of his bowl. After meals they rinse their mouths and wash their hands by spitting the rinse water over their fingers.

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The pots are stirred with large wooden spatulas /237 cont./ (Fig. 118a) or with shoulderblades provided with handles (Fig. 118b). It is the pride of every woman to brew good beer, "cangui," and much beer. Indeed, they are /238/ indefatigably busy. One sees them working all day, and even at night they are busy cooking and grinding. No family may refrain from making cangui.

The use of saliva may perhaps seem unsanitary. At first I thought this too, but soon I was so hardened that the cangui prepared with saliva-yeast in Indian fashion tasted better to me

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Fig. 117. Cooking maize beer. Chané. Rio Itiyuro.

than that brewed by the whites in a civilized way.

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Connoisseurs, not only Indians, are said to be of the same opinion as I. It is important, however, that the cangui be drunk cold; it is unpalatable lukewarm. When it has stood for a long time, it is somewhat intoxicating, but not as much so as algarroba beer.

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There is a great deal of ceremony connected with cangui drinking. In front, on benches and stools (Fig. 85), sit the men, and behind them, on the ground, the women. The older ladies are given the best places. The hostess brings in the cangui in her

Ec /238 cont./
273 finest clay vessels, "yambuy," and places these in front of her
574 guests (Figs. 77 and 78). The person before whom a vessel with
576 cangui is placed must serve. This applies to the chiefs as well.
Even I served at Indian social gatherings. It is not unusual for
the men to serve the women and vice versa. The cangui is poured
into decorated calabashes which are passed in turn. Everyone
must drink up. A person who refuses is impolite and ill-bred.
It is not appropriate for a person to pour for himself. If one
wishes to be polite to the server, he first drains his bowl, then
fills it himself, and offers it to him. If one drinks everything
offered, he is a friend of the Indians. If one refuses, the Indians
become mistrustful of him. An old Chané once said to me:
"You are a nice Christian, even in the morning you drink maize
beer with us." When Moberg returned home from the hunt laden
with booty, the young and pretty women crowded around the
happy huntsman and welcomed him with a calabash of maize
beer. /239/ What were the hardships of the hunt /Fig. 118 appears
e here/ compared to those of drinking, for the women whose bowl
Ce he left untouched would never forget the insult. If one has
[754] enemies, the drinking of cangui can be dangerous, for who knows
if someone has not put a bit of his own excrement or hair in the
beer, so that one will be bewitched and die. Such things happen
Ec in these villages.
522 At the festivals, evidences of Indian humor often come to
527 light. One joke, for example, is to act as though one were hand-
ing around cangui in a calabash turned upside down, another is to
Ec ask someone to play the flute on a misshapen reed.
535 Dance masks are now worn by the Chiriguano and Chané
532 only during the carnival, the great drinking festival of the
177 Christians. Those that I saw had the form of human faces (Fig. 119).
541 Very different opinions prevail among the Indians about
Ce whether or not the masks here are of Indian origin. Vocapoy
532 said the idea for them had originally come from the whites.
177 Baturayu, on the other hand, maintained that as a boy on the Rio
535 Parapiti he saw among the Chané some of the present masks, which
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[796]